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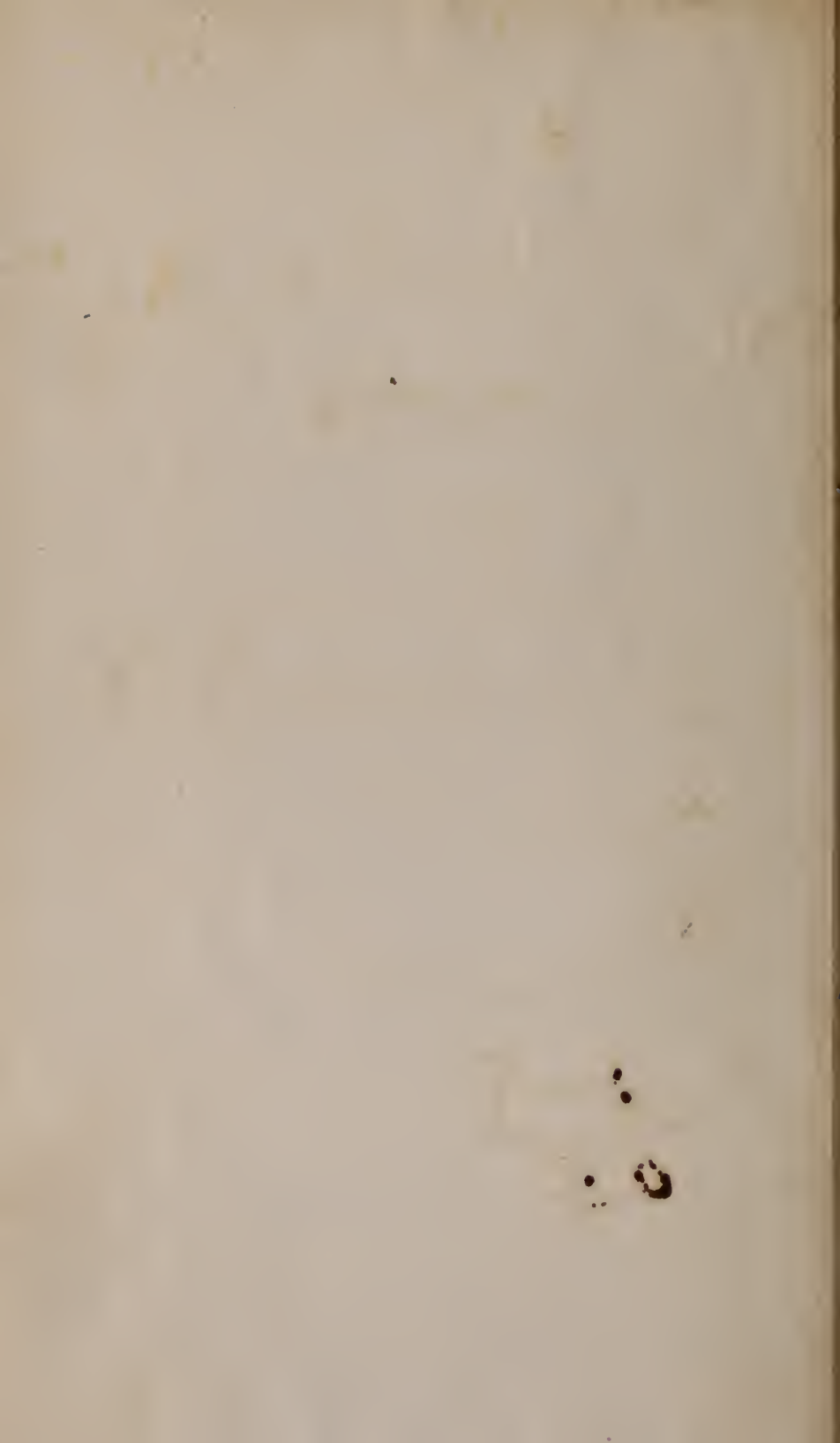
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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XV.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN
COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON:

1839.

NOTICE.

To complete the volume to which this Index belongs, has been much desired, and has been in contemplation since the death of Mr. DUNN, the proprietor of the work at that time. But the unsettled state of the affairs of the deceased, and the slow process since in collecting the money due his estate, rendered it impossible to do so before this. It is hoped, however, that the volume being now complete, no further obstacles will be in the way of speedy collections, and that the orphan children of Mr. DUNN will thus be opportunely relieved.

To those persons especially who have been in the habit of preserving and having the Repository bound, for future reference, this title and index will be very acceptable, and of the greatest utility.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 4, 1841.

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NOTICES.

✂ All former debts for the Colonization Herald, and all remittances of moneys from the State of Pennsylvania, should be sent to Gen. Agent of Colonization Society, corner of George and Seventh streets, Philadelphia.

✂ This work is now subject to newspaper postage only.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Many of our readers are already aware that the Secretary of the Navy has determined to despatch forthwith, a sloop of war and a schooner to the coast of Africa, in execution of our laws, for the suppression of the slave trade, and the protection of our extending commerce in that quarter. The announcement of this determination has met every where, through the North as well as the South, unusual evidences of approbation and confidence. On the subject of the African slave trade and the connexion of our flag with it, there is but one sentiment in the whole land. Every worthy citizen, wherever found, unreservedly condemns it. They greatly err, who believe that the South give any countenance to this infamous traffic. Some of the strongest expressions of indignant disapprobation, break in upon us from that quarter.

This decisive step of the Department is more than warranted by the circumstances of the case. The unexampled extent of the traffic, the miseries which it inflicts, the spirit of our own laws on the subject, and the desecration of our National flag in its protection, all call loudly for energetic action. Nor is this call weakened by the fact that British cruisers, without any conventional authority, are extensively capturing and sending to our ports, vessels engaged in this traffic, under the prostituted protection of American papers. It belongs to us, and not the British, to protect the honor of our flag. The interference, though dictated by the highest sentiments of humanity, is little less than a National indignity. May we be spared the humiliation of recognising a Foreign Power as the conservator of our National honor.

But we need indulge in no such apprehension, while the spirit which now exhibits itself, sways the counsels of the Department.

The force which the Secretary has determined to despatch to the African coast, cannot fail to impose a wide and salutary check on the slave trade.—An intelligent gentleman, better acquainted, perhaps, than any other in the United States with the Western coast of Africa, has informed us that this trade, so far as our own flag is connected with it, may be in a great measure broken up by the system of action resolved on by the Department. The widespread and abused protection of the American flag, will be at once cut off; while the threatened penalties of confiscation, infamy and death, will overawe the reckless offender.

From Africa's Luminary.

GOTERAH—AFRICAN WARRIOR.

Our town was all in commotion on Monday last, in consequence of a visit from Goterah, a warrior attached to the Condo people, who, with eight or ten men, visited this place to hold a palaver with Governor Buchanan. This notable personage, a member of the Boozee tribe, a cannibal in his very appearance, is a well built, muscular man, of good size, with prominent features, and an eye that bespeaks a love of war and bloodshed. He was dressed in a large loose gown, without sleeves or collar, of African manufacture, and a cap with a huge tail behind it, made of leopard skin, and decorated with cowrie shells sewed on in circles and various figures, and the hair of some wild animal. One of the men by whom he was accompanied marched behind the great war man with a drum of rather rude workmanship, which whenever the chief moved, he beat with two small sticks. It appears that the commissioner named in Governor Buchanan's letter, which will be found on our third page, and who had been sent by his excellency to investigate the cause of a war among the native tribes in our neighborhood, by means of which the property of one or more citizens of Liberia had been destroyed, had an interview with this said Goterah, and invited him to Monrovia to see Governor Buchanan, as he had been the chief leader of the party who had ransacked and burned the towns and destroyed the property. After a number of awkward gestures and manœuvres in the street before the government house, during which he crouched, roared, growled, and shook himself like a *leopard*, (which is the meaning of his name,) his curiosity was awakened at hearing several discharges from a piece of ordnance which the Governor had ordered to be fired. On hearing the report of the cannon, he repaired to the spot, and gazed apparently with much interest on the process of loading, firing, sponging out, &c. As soon as his excellency was ready to receive him, he and his party were escorted to the government house and admitted into the Governor's parlor, where, with a number of citizens, we accompanied the strangers and witnessed the following interesting palaver:

Governor B., through the medium of W. Lewis, Esq., who, being well acquainted with several native languages, acted as interpreter, stated that for a long time it was well known in America that King Boatswain, in his life time, was always a friend to the American people and to these colonies. Lieutenant Governor Williams then desired the interpreter to say that whatever word Goterah had in his heart to say to the Governor now to speak on. Goterah, who had his own interpreter, to whom he spoke in his own language, but who spoke to Mr. Lewis in the Vey tongue, replied that Boatswain's people were all friendly to the Americans. If any of them come here and

do bad, keep them—let it be known—send for him, and they should be punished; that the kings and head men of that country had put great power in his (Goterah's) hands, and whatever he says is done. If even any of the head men done wrong and they wanted him punished, and he (Goterah) said no, his word was obeyed. He makes war and carries it wherever he pleases. They all feel, however, tributary to the Governor of the American colonies, and when they have any palaver will resort to him and abide by his decision. If the Governor at any time wanted any fighting done, just send for him and he would do it for him. That one of the principal things he wanted to say was about his women, six of whom had gone over the river and were detained among the Queah people, were working for them, raising rice which they got for themselves, and that they would not give them up. That he did not mind his men and boys being out, going to Millsburgh, or coming down here, for one of his boys now lived with Dr. Taylor at Millsburgh, but his women was what he wanted. To this the Governor replied, that if these women were detained by any of his people in either of these colonies, he must not make war against them and fight them, but come to him and hold the palaver with him, that he would immediately give them up. But if they were detained in any tribe who were under his jurisdiction, then let him send two of his men, the Governor would send two of *his*, and let the four go and ascertain if the women were there kept away from them, and then talk and settle the palaver. He added that he wished them all to live in peace, have no more war, but settle all their palavers as Americans do, by talking, not fighting.

Goterah. Let me know where your possessions are, how far your country extends, over whom you have authority and jurisdiction. I will make no war, nor molest any within your territory; but beyond them I make war when and where I please. I am a very bad man; my fashion is to take and burn a town, kill and eat the people.

Gov. Buchanan. Are your women among our people, or among those over whom we have jurisdiction?

Goterah. I do not know, but I suppose they may be very near your people or your country. If so, and I make war against those who have got them, it will be said Goterah makes war against the Americans, and this I do not want said. King Boatswain before he died and his principal head men said, "Never make war against the Americans, they are our friends." (This he repeated twice.) If any of the Americans pass through our country, or any country over which we have any power, they shall not be molested—they shall be protected. If even you have any war and will send for me, I will come and fight for you. If you want me now to go and fight the Fish people I can never say no; I will go.

Gov. We never settle our palavers by fighting. We have laws, if our people do wrong we punish them, and we want you to learn our fashion. We want to send teachers among you to establish schools among your people, and teach your children American fashion.

Goterah. This is good. We like trade. We get a great deal of ivory. I have two large teeth with me which I brought down to trade for. We have plenty of elephants in our country, and have eight elephant hunters out. We like to trade with the Americans, not to make war with them. We get plenty of money from them in trade. This place and Bopora are the same, and yet they are not all the same, for I am hungry and my men, and have no where to get food but to look to you.

Gov. We will supply you and your men with all you want.

His excellency then gave orders to have them taken care of, and we left the government house. On Wednesday the grand palaver was held about the women and the property which had been destroyed, the substance of which will appear in our next.

From Africa's Luminary.

GOTERAH—GRAND PALAVER.

On Wednesday afternoon, the 19th ult., the *grand palaver*, alluded to in our last, was held in one of the offices attached to the government premises, and we had an opportunity of witnessing the proceedings. As the interpreters were poor, and a great many interruptions and repetitions occurred, it is almost impossible to present our readers with any thing more than the substance of the remarks which were made by the parties.

The first thing which his excellency, Governor Buchanan, inquired into was the ground of the claim which Goterah set up to two women who were present, having been sent for for the occasion, and who for years had been residing within the bounds of the colonial territory. On being requested to speak in defence of this claim, the great war-man began and went through quite an impassioned and somewhat eloquent speech, accompanied by some odd but not inappropriate jestures. He declared that *Nakoo*, one of the women, had been the wife of Colson, a recaptive African who had been killed in the war; that the said Colson had been in his debt and died without paying him. This was his *first* statement. But it appeared before the close of the palaver, when he found that he was not likely to obtain his end on that ground, that he changed his note, and said Colson had *sold* her to him. And both of these grounds of claim were proved to be mere subterfuges by Mr. White, a justice of the peace, from Millsburgh, who affirmed that when Goterah applied to him and demanded these women, who resided within the district of Millsburgh, he had uniformly stated that Colson had *given* her to him. Thus the fellow had prepared himself three different experiments to accomplish his purpose. The other woman, *Yah*, he claimed by inheritance. He declared her to be the property of his father, Namssoih. His father was dead, and all that had belonged to him now devolves to his son. Goterah, he said, was not a boy: when he moved he wanted followers—he must have a train behind him. It was said that he made war to take slaves to sell. This was not so—he sold none. He ate, and kept the others for his own use. These women he claimed as his own, and demanded them at the hands of the Governor.

During the most excited part of his address, we were much amused at a singular movement which we were informed was equivalent to an oath. He generally spoke sitting; but at the moment we allude to he sprang from his chair, laid hold of two bright spears with which he travelled, and which were leaning against the side of the room, placed them on the floor in a horizontal position, and close to each other, then stepped on them, made some most impassioned remarks, stepped back, took up the spears, and held one in his right hand in a menacing position, and seemingly in the very act of darting forward at some one. The following, we were told, was the nature of this kind of oath: "If I *lie* in these statements—if they are not the truth—may these, my own spears on which I now stand, and are now at my command, under my very feet, be made to punish the crime; may they be turned as I now hold them, against myself, and by some unknown hand be plunged into Goterah's heart." He now, much agitated, sat down.

Governor Buchanan now permitted the man who came forward as counsel for the women to reply. This is an interesting young man; he too is a recaptive. [By a recaptive in this sense we mean not an African taken on the high seas by a European or American cruiser and brought back to their country and set free, but we mean Africans about to be sent off in chains by slave-dealers, rescued by *colonists*, and protected by them and their laws and government.] Anthony (so named by the Lieutenant Governor, Mr.

Williams, in whose family he was reared) rose and told a plain, unvarnished tale. "Colson was my brother, an older brother. *Nakoo*, *this* woman, (pointing to one of the women,) was his wife. They lived in a Dey town called Zooih. We were both recaptives. We were taken in Ashniun's time. Colson was taken at Digby. I was taken when a small boy at Mammy's town. War was carried to Zooih while Colson lived there by the Goulah's, and he was killed. Goterah was one of the leaders in that war. He was Colson's friend he says; but he knows—there he is, (pointing at Goterah,) and cannot deny it—he knows that he commanded his brother Sissy to shoot my brother Colson. He shot him in the back of the head with a musket, and it was given out that Colson was shot by the enemy. He killed my brother to get his wife. He took her; but she ran away from him, came to Millsburgh, got permission to sit down in that neighborhood, and for five years has been protected there. Goterah cannot have her; my brother did not owe him—my brother did not leave his wife to him. *Yah*, that other woman, never was Goterah's slave—never belonged to his father; she too, with her husband, lived in Zooih. He was killed in that same war, and she was taken, tied, and would have been sold to Spaniards by that same Goterah. She ran away, went to Millsburgh, and has there been protected. Here is her present husband. Even me he wanted to catch and sell to Spaniards as a slave."

The women were now commanded by the Governor to speak for themselves. Poor creatures! there they had sat, and there they had been listening; and we felt perhaps as they did, that on this brief interview, this short hour, their liberty, nay, their existence depended. If given up by Governor Buchanan to Goterah what must they expect? To be sold to Spaniards, kept as slaves, and worked as beasts of burden, or killed and eaten by their cannibal master. It was a moment of thrilling anxiety to them.

Nakoo, with a very expressive countenance, but with much hesitation, confirmed all that Anthony had said. With half averted look, she several times declared that Goterah had no claim on her, that her husband did not owe Goterah, and that the latter's statements were not true.

Yah said little, but looked a great deal. She had never belonged to Goterah's father—had never been in their country—was a Pessah. After her husband's death she had got away from Goterah, and found protection in the colony, and did not want to be given up to Goterah.

His excellency heard all with untiring patience, and it required no inconsiderable quantum of this grace on this occasion, for the interpreters were poor, and had to be changed; and then they would speak often to the interruption and contradiction of each other. But the Governor listened to all that could be gathered, and then decided as follows:

To Goterah he caused the interpreter to say that he could not allow his claim to *Nakoo*—she was now an American woman—she had claimed the protection of the laws of this colony, and for five years had lived within its territory. These laws did not allow of using any human being as property to pay a debt. If Colson did owe him, still the widow could not be given to him to pay the debt. Neither could Colson have sold her or given her away; he was also an American—none of their laws allowed this. Goterah, therefore, could not have *Nakoo*; she should be considered as an American, and be free. *Yah*, the Governor also declared, should not be given to him either. He could not prove that *Yah* was ever the property of his father. She and others said she never had been—had not been in his country—was not of their tribe. She was now an American woman, claimed his protection, and should have it. Goterah should not have *Yah*.

The cannibal listened and heard all, and inquired two or three times whether he was to leave without his women; whether he was not to get them; if this was American fashion. But though he did not remonstrate, he looked as if he ruminated future revenge, and seemed pondering how to execute it.

The plundered property of Messrs. Cheeseman and Hunter was new called in question. The native man who had been seized and imprisoned in Monrovia had been given up at the request of this said Goterah, on a promise made by him that *he* would cause the Dey chiefs to refund the articles stolen at the time the town was destroyed. Governor Buchanan now requested Goterah to say whether he had fulfilled his contract. Messrs. Cheeseman and Hunter were present. They were sufferers, and none of their goods had been restored. Goterah replied that he would make the Dey chiefs pay immediately if the Governor would only allow him to carry war to their towns. Let him but say go and fight them and get back the property, and he would do it soon enough. To this he was replied that it was by no means the Governor's wish that he should make war and go and kill men for the sake of property, but he was asked whether he did not engage to the commissioners, Messrs. Lewis and Cyples, to see that this property was returned. When this question was answered we were all highly amused at the shrewdness and logic of the African.

"Why," said he in substance, "you want me to get back the property, yet I am not to use my own means and the only means I have, war and bloodshed, to recover it, but yet I am expected to do it, and this property which has been destroyed belonging to you, who ought to refund it? Tell me, who makes English men of war pay back for property they destroy when they break up a slave factory belonging to Spaniards on the coast? If Africans or Americans have goods there at the time, and in the war they are plundered, from whom is redress sought from the men of war?" And who does not see much reason in the warrior's remark? If an individual, to make money, puts a quantity of goods in a native town, and posts a trader there to sell cloth and tobacco, and guns and powder for ivory, for camwood, palm oil, *and so forth, and so forth*, and another tribe comes, makes war, burns that town, plunders every thing, and does not question whose *this* is, and to whom *that* belongs; and in consequence of this war the property of the individual is destroyed, who pays? Must the Governor go to an immense expense and declare war and go to fighting to recover a hundred dollars or two?

Governor Buchanan determined to defer the matter until he should summon the Dey chiefs to appear together at Monrovia, Goterah with them, and endeavor to obtain satisfaction, but by no means to make war to obtain it in such a case.

We learn since the palaver that Goterah has been threatening to attack Millsburgh, so that orders have been given by the Governor to have a guard kept at night, and a supply of arms and ammunition furnished. By his means, too, a young man of Monrovia was forcibly detained in a native town for a short time, but has recovered his liberty and returned home.

From the New York Observer.

REV. J. A. JAMES ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A few weeks since we published an extract of a letter from the Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham, England, on American slavery, with the intention of following it with some remarks. The remarks have been necessarily delayed till the present time, and we therefore repeat part of the extract.

"No minister, nor private Christian coming from the United States, how-

ever great his excellence may be in other respects—however valuable the cause might be which he is anxious to recommend, or whatever introductions and recommendations he may bring, can be authorized to expect to do much good who is not prepared to declare himself the warm and steady friend of emancipation. I am quite aware that some of our people are not disposed to make such allowances, as without at all compromising the question, may be made, for those who till lately never thought of the criminality of this enormous sin, nor for the difficulties with which the subject is surrounded in your country; but still, when charity has stretched itself to the uttermost, many find it a most puzzling matter to reconcile revivals of religion with the opposition of the South, and the indifference of many in the North and East to the abolition of slavery. We are ready to admit that it is possible that some of the advocates of abolition may be indiscreet in their sayings and doings, and that they may have mixed up other matters with the question that may tend to prejudice it in the estimation of many. All this may be so, but still *there* is the evil—monstrous, horrible, and utterly indefensible, loading the country with crime and misery. We know very well the nature of your Federal Constitution, and that your General Government has no authority in this matter over the separate States any more than England has over France; still, there is the District of Columbia under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, where the atrocities of slavery are carried on under the flag of the capitol and the eyes of Congress. There is the prejudice against color pervading the North and the East, as well as the South; there is the right of petitioning virtually surrendered, by allowing the voice of the people to be suppressed and discussion to be forbidden; there is the opportunity presented, but neglected, of choosing representatives friendly to emancipation; and above all, there is the power of the pulpit and the press, possessed, but not employed, as perhaps it might be, to bear testimony against this cruel outrage against the rights of humanity. It is not, however, my intention to enter deeply into this subject, but merely to refer to it in connexion with the influence of American example.

“It was but last evening, at a public meeting of the British Missionary Society of this town, I heard the matter alluded to by a powerful and eloquent speaker, in a strain of burning indignation that convulsed the audience, and almost made the place to shake with marks of disgust at the American slaveholders, and of approbation of the orator, who in such terms of withering accusation would arraign them before God and his country.”

While Mr. J. is quite aware that some Englishmen are not disposed to make proper allowances for American Christians, he does not seem to know that he himself must be regarded as very imperfectly acquainted with our history, and the real state of our feelings on the subject of slavery. If Mr. J. had read the history of Massachusetts he would feel that such rebuke as he administers in his letter is very much like the rebuke which young converts are prone to administer to old Christians. We suppose that the abhorrence of slavery in Massachusetts is deeper, purer, more inveterate, and less liable to change than in any part of the civilized world. It is now two centuries (we believe this very year) since the first slave ship touched upon her shores. The legislature of the colony, then only nine years old, were in session at the time, and the instant the news reached their ears they ordered a vessel to be fitted out at the public expense, re-shipped the slaves, sent them back to Africa, and passed a law making man-stealing thenceforth felony without benefit of clergy. The feeling which this statute indicates as existing then is the feeling now, and has been the feeling at every moment of the intervening period.

It is true that, in opposition to their solemn and repeated remonstrances,

the colonists were compelled for a time by mother Britain to suffer the importation of slaves; but the moment the colony threw off the British yoke slavery was abolished in Massachusetts—not by statute—no, the old Bay State would not disgrace herself by a *statute* to abolish *slavery*. She declared in the face of the universe that “all men are born free and equal,” and her courts have always decided, under this declaration, that no statute was necessary to abolish slavery in Massachusetts.

The example of the Bay State, we all know, was followed by abolition acts in the other New England States, and in the middle States. These States were half a century in advance of Britain in the emancipation cause,

But, it is said, the Constitution of the United States sanctions slavery, and Massachusetts was a party to the Constitution. It is not true that the United States’ Constitution sanctions slavery. So far as slavery is concerned, the United States’ Constitution is a treaty, in which Massachusetts and ten other anti-slave trade States bound Georgia and South Carolina to permit that traffic to be abolished in 1808, and in which such burdens were imposed upon slavery itself, that the statesmen of Massachusetts boasted in their convention that by that instrument they had given the monster the death blow. If they erred in their calculations, they erred only as British statesmen have erred in every treaty they have formed on the subject of slavery with France, Spain, and Portugal.

But “there is slavery in the District of Columbia, under the flag of the capitol and the eyes of Congress.” There it is, indeed, to the disgrace of our free republic. It is there, however, as all the world may know, in opposition to the recorded remonstrances of the great States of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania; it is there in opposition to the well known wishes of a vast majority of the people in the non-slave holding States; it is there in opposition to more voices raised against it in America than were ever raised in Britain against slavery, a thousand times as extensive, in British India; or against the worse than slavery pressgang system of the British navy, or the compulsory obeisance to idols which is required of soldiers in the British army. And how long would slavery have continued even in the British West Indies if one-half, or nearly one-half, of the members of the British Parliament had been West India planters? How long would slavery have continued in the District of Columbia if it could have been abolished by a majority of the representatives from the *non-slave holding States*? Would it have required a systematic array of all the philanthropy in the land, under the guidance of such talented men as Wilberforce and Buxton, through a period of ten or twenty years, to have brought forth at first an apprenticeship system and then an emancipation act. Let the emancipation acts passed in the New England and middle States more than fifty years ago answer. Let the vote in Congress on the Missouri question answer. Let the resolution on the subject of slavery of every public body in the non-slave holding States passed prior to the movements of modern abolitionists answer.

But there is the prejudice against color pervading the North and East as well as the South. True, but not to the extent represented by some of the abolitionists. In Massachusetts negroes are entitled by law to all the rights and privileges of white men; and some of them have filled offices under the States and other important stations in society with credit to themselves and the general respect of the community. Lemuel Haynes, during his long life, was treated with as much attention, wherever he went, as he could have been had he been a white man. The prejudice against colored people in New England is comparatively weak among the great body of the yeomanry. It is chiefly a prejudice of the vulgar. Dr. Belknap so described it in his

letter to Judge Tucker, of Virginia, written nearly fifty years ago, and, as far as our observation has extended, this is still its true character. It is, we suppose, the same feeling which is manifested in England and some other countries in Europe towards the Jews and Gypsies, with this difference, that in New England it is so checked by religious sentiments that it cannot be carried to the same extent of cruelty.

But the pulpit and the press do not speak out, as perhaps they might against slavery. True, we might call slaveholders indiscriminately men-stealers and pirates; and we do not do it. We might indulge only in anathemas against the South; we might utter our indignation against slavery in such thundering tones that the echo would come back to us from Britain in plaudits of our noble zeal for liberty; and we do not do it. Not because we think slavery a light evil; not because we do not wish to see the abominable thing speedily and utterly abolished. It is because we do most sincerely and earnestly wish to see it abolished, that we cannot join in irritating denunciations of the men who alone have the power to abolish it. It is because we know that the curse is deeply rooted and intertwined with every limb and fibre of southern institutions, that we have no faith in the scheme of those who expect to shake it down by their shoutings. We have studied the character of our southern brethren, and the history of their slavery, and our whole hope of abolition is in the high and generous feeling which we know exists there to an extent not surpassed in any part of the Anglo-Saxon world.

We all know that slavery was planted and nurtured in the South by Britain. The sagacious statesmen of "the old Dominion," nearly a century ago, saw the nature and tendency of the evil as we see it now. They remonstrated, they cried, they implored the mother country to desist. But Britain was a step-mother to her colonies. She stifled their cries, and poured in the poison till all the fountains of healthful influence were corrupted by it. When at length her cruel yoke was broken, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina joined the first league which was ever formed on this earth, for the suppression of the slave trade; and thousands of the noble citizens of those states, celebrated their own emancipation from the British yoke by the emancipation of their slaves. There are at this day in those three states more than 150,000 free blacks, who would command in the market, at the price of slaves, 75,000,000 dollars. This is the offering of those states to the anti-slavery altar. And what is there, elsewhere, in the world, that can be compared with it? Britain, with more than 20,000,000 people, and the resources of an empire extending from the rising to the setting of the sun, by her famous emancipation act, contributed 100,000,000 dollars. But emancipation by her planters was an emancipation forced upon them by a government at a distance, in which they were not represented, and over which they had no control. In Virginia and her sister states, emancipation was a voluntary and spontaneous offering of just and noble feeling; and when posterity award their honors to the anti-slavery men of the present age, they may praise Britain, and extol the old Bay State, but they will reserve the laurel for the sons of the Old Dominion. We believe that the spirit of ancient Virginia still lingers along her rivers and among her hills and mountains, and we cannot join, therefore, in the indiscriminate denunciation of her sons. When we join an anti-slavery society we shall want to choose a Virginian for our President, and we shall esteem it glory enough to serve in the cause under officers that we can select from our slave-holding States.

LETTER FROM HON. E. WHITTLESEY.

We intended, before this, to have favored our readers with this excellent letter, which was written in reply to an invitation to attend the annual meeting of the Colonization Society of Ashlabula county, Ohio. Our readers need not be told that it is from one who ranks among the most firm and able friends of our cause—one whose fidelity, in the councils of our nation, to the great interest of the public, secured him the respect and confidence of all parties.

CANFIELD, JUNE 25th, 1839.

GENTLEMEN,—Your invitation to attend the Annual Meeting of the Ashtabula county Colonization Society, at Jefferson, on the 4th of July next, and to address the Society, was duly received.

Professional engagements require my attention next week, on the Court of Common Pleas in Cuyahoga County; and if it had been otherwise, I should have accepted an invitation given previous to yours, by the Colonization Society of Hartford, to address that Society.

I regret I am deprived by the session of the Court, from contributing my mite in advancing a cause, in which two Continents are so intimately interested. You are correct in saying, "the cause of Colonization is not dead," nor will it die, unless that *Power* which controls the destinies of Nations has decreed that our Union shall be dissolved, and that this happy people shall be involved in the horrors of intestine commotions and civil wars: nor unless it is further decreed, that moral and intellectual darkness shall permanently abide on the African Continent. African Colonization has at no time been more prosperous than it is at present, notwithstanding the energies and perseverance of its enemies. The opposition it meets with, should stimulate its friends and supporters, to renewed exertions in sustaining and in carrying forward a work that has accomplished so much good, and that has so much in reserve for the slaves in this country; and for reclaiming, civilizing, and christianizing the degraded Africans, in their own country.

Among other grounds for encouragement may be mentioned, the increased devotion to the objects of the Society in the Southern States.—This is seen in the formation of State Societies, and in the support given to them; and in the instances of emancipating Slaves for Colonization; and in bequests given to transport manumitted slaves to Africa; and in sustaining them with whatever is necessary, for their new and free condition. President Monroe, before his death, assured Elliott Cresson, a devoted Philanthropist, and a most jealous friend to African Colonization, "that if adequate funds were possessed by the Colonization Society, he could procure ten thousand slaves by voluntary emancipation, in his native State alone."

How much more satisfactory must it be to the Patriot; to the friend of the slave; to the Christian; and to the moralist; to be the means of restoring a slave to freedom by his own, and by the voluntary consent of his master; with the knowledge, that he is to be transported to the land of his fathers, of his kindred, and of his blood, there to be placed on a footing of perfect equality, in a Republic formed by his own race—than can be derived from discharging the office of a secret emissary; prowling among the negro huts of a Southern planter, under the cover of darkness—seeking for objects to make discontented,—violating one of the domestic relations,—laying and prosecuting plans for secret escapes—conducting poor deluded human beings through the country, at that period devoted by man-stealers and horse thieves, to the prosecution of works that shun the light—and eventually landing them on

the cold and inhospitable shore of Canada, without a house to shelter them, or food to sustain them. If report be true, there are those who are engaged in conducting negroes, secretly and coverly, through this part of the State, from the Ohio river to the Lakes, to be transported to Canada. In the day time, they are shut up in cellars or in barns, and in the night they are crammed into waggons, with as little space as is allowed by slavers engaged in Foreign man-stealing.

A regiment, it is said, has been already formed in Canada, of runaway slaves, and those engaged in enticing them to leave their masters, or in giving them safe convoy through the State, are recruiting officers, for filling the ranks of Queen Victoria's Army, to wage a border war, when the peaceable relations of the two Governments shall be disturbed.

To the ordinary expenses of the Society is to be added the purchase of a vessel as proposed by Samuel Wilkeson, of Buffalo, (who has most disinterestedly and benevolently devoted himself to the cause of African Colonization,) to run regularly between Liberia and the United States. The vessel was purchased on a credit, and to be paid for during the present summer, by instalments. The friends of African Colonization have been called on to raise contributions on the coming Fourth of July, in aid of paying the debt mentioned.

A new scheme of forming an income for the National Society, by the subscription of ten dollars a year by twenty thousand subscribers for ten years, has been proposed, and if any gentlemen at your meeting shall contribute in the mode mentioned, you may add my name to the list. This amount divided, and paid half yearly, will hardly be felt by any one, and the consolation of knowing that the money will be expended towards removing from this country a great public evil, and for blessing Africa with science, civilization and christianity, will richly reward any one who may practically sanction the scheme.

Much benefit would follow from distributing Colonization papers among the members of the Society. The African Repository is now furnished at \$2.00: and the Maryland Colonization Journal, published at Baltimore is only *fifty cents* a year. The quantity of matter published in these papers of course varies; but no one will esteem his money misapplied who subscribes for either of them. The facts published in each of them are interesting and valuable.

With expressing my best wishes towards the great cause in which you are engaged, and my kind feelings for each of you, I subscribe myself

Most sincerely and respectfully yours, E. WHITTLESEY.

To D. M. Spencer, H. Nettleton, H. R. Eastman, Horace Luce, T. C. Dewey and Matthew Hubbard, Esqs.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser.

There is one point of view in which the influence of the American Colonization Society, upon the suppression of the slave trade has been overlooked, or at least not duly appreciated. We refer to its influence upon our national legislation, and to its co-operation with our national government, under laws of which it was instrumental in securing the passage.

The law of the United States, passed in 1807, for the suppression of the slave trade, made no provision for the disposition of the slaves introduced into this country contrary to its provisions, but left them to be disposed of by the legislatures of the states into which they might be brought. The state of Virginia had previously passed a law for the suppression of the slave

trade, and declared slaves introduced into that state contrary to its provisions, *free*. The states of Georgia and Louisiana passed laws directing negroes imported into those states in contravention of the slave trade act to be sold as slaves, and the proceeds to be paid into the state Treasury, and the sale of a considerable number of Africans took place under those laws.

The state of Georgia, however, passed a law recognizing the existence of the American Colonization Society, and offering to deliver into their hands such Africans as might be introduced into that state in contravention of the laws against the slave trade, provided the Society would restore them to their native land without expense to the state. And in 1818 Bishop Meade of Virginia, who was the first agent of the American Colonization Society, proceeded to the state of Georgia, and received from the proper officers of the state a number of recaptured Africans, who had been advertised to be sold on a certain day, under the provisions of the above named law. When Congress convened in 1818 a memorial was presented from the board of managers of the Colonization Society, setting forth the facts above stated, and praying for such legal enactment upon the subject as might secure to the Africans illegally introduced into the United States the enjoyment of their freedom and their rights.

In conformity with the request of the Colonization Society an act was passed at the same session, to wit, on the 3d of March, 1819, entitled "an act in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade," declaring Africans introduced into any part of the United States contrary to said acts, to be at the disposal of the President of the United States, under the guardianship of our laws, and providing for their restoration to their native land, and, where practicable to their homes. Also providing for the appointment of agents on the coast of Africa, to receive and protect them on their arrival there, and to place them in a situation to obtain a comfortable subsistence for themselves.

Mr. Monroe, who was then President, in carrying into effect the above named law, wisely sought to secure the co-operation of the Colonization Society in the restoration of the *recaptured* Africans to their homes, and to secure the protection and other advantages that would accrue to the agents of the government, from a residence in the colony which the Colonization Society contemplated founding on the coast of Africa. The society, perceiving that a co-operation with the government in their benevolent intentions toward the recaptured Africans would be mutually advantageous to the society and the government, readily consented to the proposition of President Monroe to make the colony of Liberia the place of residence of the government agents, and the place for the reception and location of such recaptured Africans as could not be sent to their homes.

The first Africans who were sent out under this arrangement to Liberia were from the state of Georgia, and the place where they were settled is called New Georgia. It is now the most thriving agricultural settlement in Liberia. Others were sent out by the United States at different times from Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana, amounting in the whole to several hundreds. The last considerable number that were sent to Liberia by the United States, under the above named arrangement, were sent from New Orleans in 1835. They are here brought into notice because of an important principle of law involved in their capture and restoration to liberty and to their *homes*—(for most of them were of mature age—had families in Africa, and upon their arrival at Monrovia, some of them found their friends and kindred there, and proceeded with them to their proper homes.) The Spanish schooner *Fenix*, in which they were imported from Africa, was taken by a United States vessel of war, off the coast of Cuba, on the charge of piracy, and carried into New Orleans for adjudication.

Upon their arrival at New Orleans the Africans were demanded by the Spanish claimants as their property, on the ground that they were improperly brought into the United States. But the Court decided that the Africans should be protected in their rights by the laws of this country, no matter how they came within its jurisdiction; and that inasmuch as the slave trade was contrary to the laws of Spain, the Spanish claimants had no property in them, and they were therefore under the guardianship of the United States, to be restored to Africa under the supplementary law of 1819, for the suppression of the slave trade.

NOTICES OF NEW WORKS.

"AN INQUIRY INTO THE CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE AFRICAN RACE IN THE UNITED STATES."—"By an American."—"This book is characterised by its independence of thought, its honesty of inquiry, its fertility of suggestion, its freedom from sectional prejudice. The advocate of a system of involuntary servitude will find in it sentiments to which he can by no means subscribe, while the Abolitionist will find many more to which he will take strong exception; but both may ponder with profit to themselves, and possible advantage to others, the facts it discloses, the lessons it conveys. No one thoroughly imbued with its spirit, will rush to extremes, either in the blind expedients of proposed amelioration, or the rash measures of vindictive redress.

We quote, at this time, a few pages—without adopting all the sentiments they convey—affecting the return of the African to the land of his fathers.

But there is a better prospect for the slave in the land of his fathers. Tropical Africa appears to be the home destined by the Creator for the negro, and has been the residence of his race, from time immemorial. There is room enough even in the vicinity of the coast of Upper Guinea for all the black population of the Union; as but a very small part of its luxuriant soil has been brought under cultivation. There the negro can stand erect in his manhood, and, in the face of his brother, behold only an equal. No master has power to task him, or make him feel continually a consciousness of bitter degradation. He may there assert the rights and dignity of a freeman, and cultivate the faculties which God has given him. If he has enterprize, there is a sufficient field for its exercise in the unknown regions of his father-land. If he has learned any thing valuable, in his state of vassalage, he can there turn it to his own advantage. If he is capable of exciting an influence upon Africa in favor of Colonization and Christianity, she needs it all. His religion, his character, his intellect, are here thrown into the shade, by his white superiors; there they may be exerted for his own benefit, and the improvement of his benighted countrymen. Here, in the most favorable circumstances, he obtains but a partial reward for his labor—he is surrounded by an influence which neutralizes his utmost exertions—there, he has to compete only with equals, and may obtain a reward bounded only by the limits of his industry, his enterprize, and skill. His employments here are the same which will be in request there. Here he cultivates the earth, and another enjoys the harvest. There he may survey his cotton or cane-field with a conscious pride of feeling that the fruits of his toil are all his own. The products of his country will find a ready market, and he may even come in competition with his old master in producing the

staple articles of commerce. Even now the coffee of Liberia is in demand through the Union. Her cotton, sugar, and rice are of the best quality, and there is no question but she may cultivate all the productions of the tropics, including the teas, the spices, the dyeing vegetables, and the drugs of India. Of the finest fruits she has a profusion almost without cultivation, equal to any other section of the globe.

But, it will be answered, the climate of tropical Africa is unhealthy for emigrants. This is undoubtedly true. It is a well known fact that emigrants from a northern to a southern climate, or from an old settled to a new country, must go through a process of acclimation, in which more or less die. This is abundantly evident, from the progress of population in our own country. But from impressions on my own mind, without reference to tabular statements, I am decidedly of opinion that the colored emigrants to Liberia have enjoyed greater immunity from fatal diseases than emigrants from one part of our own country to another. The mortality among them has been incomparably less than among the first settlers of Plymouth or Jamestown: and I doubt not a less proportion of American emigrants die in Liberia, than of slaves who are carried from the northern slave states to the southern, or of white emigrants from the eastern states to the western country. Those who doubt the correctness of this statement are invited to furnish the facts, and give, in tabular form, the data from which a comparison may be made. It is, if I mistake not, generally admitted that Liberia is a very healthy country for the natives, and as much so at least as tropical climates generally to foreign residents of temperate habits. A large majority of the whites who have gone there, and resided more than a year in the service of the Colonization Society, have survived, although many of them were from the northern states of this country. A number of these were in this country during the last year, and their evidence on the subject is entirely worthy of credit. But so important a point as healthfulness of the climate should be duly weighed in connexion with the removal of a numerous population; and whoever, on either side, should make wanton misstatements on this subject to favor the designs of a party, can be looked upon in no other light than a trifle with human existence.

Does not America owe it to Africa, to send back her children, and their descendants. We have used them as servants for nearly two centuries, and have made them no equivalent. If they have become wiser, it has been accidental, not a positive gift. They have engrafted some of our worst vices on their own. Our forefathers were among the first who engaged in the horrible traffic of slaves, and were thus guilty, in a great measure, of exciting those murderous wars, which have torn and scourged that unhappy country for ages. We may pay the debt in part by returning those over which we have control; by placing them in happier circumstances, and making the settlements a barrier to the coast trade in slaves. And as the whole nation is guilty in this matter, and as the whole, also, has been profited by the toil of the slave, his redemption and welfare becomes an object of national importance. Not until the nation becomes interested in the subject, will the work be accomplished. It is too vast, too burdensome, to be effected by an individual, a society, or a state. And the resources of the country are equal to the mighty enterprize. Has not God been our benefactor to put into our hands the means of paying this enormous debt. He has given us peace (with very slight intermissions) from the commencement of our national existence, and multiplied our riches without measure. The whole period of fifty years, has been one scarcely interrupted scene of onward, onward increase and prosperity, heretofore unknown in the annals of the world. Our population has quadrupled, our means increased a hundred

fold. I cannot review this scene of progressive welfare without a conviction that God intends a great offering shall be made, to remove from our midst an entire people, by whose burdens this great accumulation has in part, been produced. We stand in relation to the Africans, as the Egyptians stood to Israel; and as sure as the latter were liberated, so surely must these be released. It is needless to go into the evidences of this coming event. They are distinctly perceptible to every Christian, and philanthropist, and patriot. The great question is, shall we come forward as a people, and make the time and mode of their discharge a great thank offering, becoming the magnanimity of a nation which is above the fear of an outward foe; or shall we grasp the possession, as the lion grasps the lamb, until the decree for emancipation shall be executed *after* suffering all the pleagues of Egypt. And the real philanthropist is equally confident of the ultimate redemption of the slave, and the necessity of sending him home to Africa. He must needs go back, not only for his own welfare, but for enlightening his countrymen. The day is dawning, in which Ethiopia is to be civilized and Christianized.

And although this undertaking appears so vast, and apparently unattainable, its difficulties will gradually disappear when the work is commenced in earnest. When this shall be done, there will be less want of means than of willingness to apply them. The resources of the nation are annually accumulating far beyond what would be required for this object, by the most ardent and active interest in its accomplishment. We have presented the singular spectacle of a nation, receiving more revenue than it knew what to do with; and with prudence and integrity in the national councils, such a period is before us again. The very operation of our present national system and laws, will produce such a result continually, while we have wisdom to keep in peace with the nations. Either of two items of the national revenue, that from the customs or the public lands, would be sufficient to effect this great work in a progressive manner. Will this application, so equal, so little burdensome, so just, and for the accomplishment of so important an object, be denied? And will not the nation demand that the navy be enlisted in and devoted to this great work? The ships of war, which are now decaying in the harbors, and the gallant men who are rusticated on shore for want of employment on the ocean, should be engaged in this business, greatly to reduce the expense, and to benefit the service. By the agency of this single power, as many might be transported (at the least expense) as could be advantageously settled in Africa for some years to come. And it would be a spectacle worthy of our infant but energetic Union, to see the ocean covered with American vessels, as transports and convoys, carrying back to their father-land, that portion of our population which is extensively regarded by some of the most enlightened nations as a dark spot upon our national character. The songs of a nation redeemed, swelling over the ocean, would be re-echoed with great joy, by all human intelligence. Such a spectacle would show to the admiration of the world, that the boasted motto of our statesmen and ambassadors—"equal and exact justice to all men"—is not an unmeaning or false declaration, and would elevate us in the estimation of the wise and good, more than the gaining of a hundred battles, or the exhibition of Roman valor.

By engaging in this enterprise on a scale suited to its magnitude, treaties would be entered into with native tribes, and cessions of territory required, by which we should check and assist to extinguish the merciless slave-trade; a work in which our government has but slightly co-operated, from motives of national policy, on which I need not animadvert. With the reputation and the resources of the nation to sustain it, this undertaking should not be

carried on in a parsimonious manner. The negro should not be sent empty away. The destitute should be provided with homes, and every family a lot in proportion to its numbers, that they might in reality sit under their own vine and fig tree.

The accomplishment of this enterprise, or even its vigorous commencement, would form an era in the history of Africa, and its influence could not be otherwise than salutary. These ransomed servants would carry the Bible and the Christian ministry along with them, and churches and schools would be established in all their borders. It would be a land of Goshen, not like that of old; but the light in their dwellings would shine afar, and illuminate the gross darkness of that mighty continent. The news of their coming would be spread abroad, and barbarian kings from the vast interior would send messengers to hold "palaver" with the Christian foreigners. Their example might teach these rude nations, that the arts of peace were preferable to the horrors of war. With wise governors and counsellors to mould the infant state; with a sufficient number of workmen in the useful arts; with the blessings of Christianity and civilization; it would possess advantages, which few incipient colonies ever enjoyed. By its industry, and enterprise, in developing its agricultural resources, this infant nation would repay in a few generations all the burdens imposed by its establishment in its contributions to American commerce.

To those who shrink from the contemplation of this project—the purchase and transportation of the slaves—in view of the expense, let me suggest a reflection for my countrymen on the objects for which enormous sums of money are now expended by the nation. I will instance only one, the Florida war. It is painful to reflect upon the insatiability of a false national honor. The sum which has been expended, estimated at \$20,000,000, in combating a handful of Indians without subduing them, would purchase a territory in Africa large enough for all the black population in the Union, and build them houses to live in; or a thousandth part of it would have secured the friendship of these savages, instead of making them inveterate enemies.

But the national honor was said to be in jeopardy; and to sustain this, the people have as yet quietly submitted to this enormous expense. But if national renown has any connexion with the prodigal expenditure of money, we shall have a niche in the temple of glory. Future history will secure us the undying fame of putting forth the energies of a mighty nation against fifteen hundred rude barbarians, and killing them at an expense of fifty thousand dollars per head. Fifty odd millions more will extinguish the tribe, unless, as in mercantile affairs, the capitation value should be increased as the number is lessened. But even if the recent project of building a wall of living men across the peninsula, to repress their incursions, should succeed, and no more millions be demanded at present—the glory of the past is at least secure, and we may be assured that posterity *will do us justice*. I regret to mar the joy of this prospective fame, by suggesting that the price of killing one Indian would have given a new and happier life to a hundred negroes. But Indians and negroes are very different men, and national honor and national benevolence are at present far from being convertible terms.





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